Migration and Diversity
June 2025
Volume: 4, No: 1, pp. 95 – 113
ISSN: 2753-6904 (Print) ISSN: 2753-6912 (Online)
journals.tplondon.com/md

TRANSNATIONAL PRESS® LONDON

Received: 23 December 2024 Accepted: 29 April 2025
DOI: https://doi.org/10.33182/md.v4i1.3493

Building Inclusive Cities: Migrants' Livelihood Strategies in African Primate Cities

Kemi-Hamdat Olugbodi[1]

Abstract

Cities attract migrants as they hope to find increased livelihood opportunities, better life, safety, and access to basic urban services. This paper explores various livelihood options of early migrants in primate cities and how they access urban services as a measure of inclusion. Data on migrants' socio-demographic characteristics, their livelihood options, and their ability to access selected urban services were collected through mixed methods. Specifically, the study employed the use of questionnaires, in-depth interviews, and field observations. Quantitative data from primary sources was computed using SPSS and results were presented in the form of simple tables, charts, and figures. The results of the hypothesis test indicated a statistically significant relationship between the livelihood options that migrants engage in and their sense of belonging in the study area. Qualitative data from interviews was presented in descriptive narration. Findings reveal a male dominance in the early migrant population who engage in various livelihood options such as informal water vending, iron scrap collection, and local tea hawking. These livelihoods are considered very relevant to the host communities and the migrants themselves take pride in their livelihood as they view it as a means of lawful earnings. Migrants' length of stay in host communities was found to serve as an anchor and a key factor in determining inclusion in terms of access to basic services like health, education, and banking services.

Keywords: Primate cities, livelihood, Migrants, access to urban services, inclusion

Introduction

Often described as the most populous city in the country or in a territorially circumscribed group of cities (Timberlake, 2019), a primate city is considered as the largest and significantly more influential than other cities within the same region (Rosenberg, 2023). Primate cities often serve as the economic, cultural, and political centers of their region and play a critical role in domestic and global economies. Nonetheless, it is recognized that these cities have an uneven influence on the rest of the country and serve as target destinations for the majority of a country including being regions for migration.

[1] Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Bayero University Kano, Nigeria. Email: kholugbodi.urp@buk.edu.ng

Kano City being the second largest city in Nigeria after Lagos is considered a primate city within its region (Koko, Bello & Sadiq, 2023; Yakudima, Alhaji, Nabegu, Dakata, Umar & Musa, 2014; Mabogunje & Filani, 1977). This is in view of the economic, institutional, political, and regional role the city plays within its immediate Northwestern region of Nigeria and that of nearby neighboring countries. With over 10 million people living within 449 km2 (173 sqm), it is a major route of the trans-Saharan trade having been a trade and human settlement for millennia.

As reported in the literature, Kano is the pre-eminent commercial, and industrial center in Northern Nigeria, and its influence is also felt in the neighboring countries of Chad, Niger, and Benin Republic (Yakudima et al., 2014; Mabogunje & Filani, 1977). With an urban growth rate of between 2 to 2.5%, the city has witnessed rapid and continuous population growth over the years (Koko et al., 2023). Additionally, the city's spatial growth is visible in its ever-expanding physical boundary from the initial 3 Local Government Areas (LGAs) to the present 7 LGAs. This expansion is not without its attendant challenges which include urban sprawl, inadequate infrastructure development, high unemployment and crime rates, poverty, slum creation, and poor urban service provision and delivery, especially to urban fringes.

The rapid urbanization and spatial expansion of Kano City has been linked to natural population increase and the influx of migrants' flow (Koko et al., 2023; Yakudima et al., 2014). Literature has it that from time immemorial migrants have flocked to Kano city seeking economic, employment, educational, and opportunities. As opined by Yahuza Asilsoy, Gücel and Özden (2021) the majority of the migrants' journey are in search of wealth or livelihoods, other migrants move in search of both Islamic or western education and social infrastructure. In recent years, the city has witnessed its share of migrant influx from neighboring northwestern states due to heightened insecurity and insurgencies (Barau, 2017). These migrants settle at the urban fringes of the city where land and housing are relatively affordable (Mbanaso & Özden, 2017).

In seeking to survive, livelihood options for such migrants remain largely informal, requiring very little capital and skills. In most cases, these options are characterized by vulnerability and poor working conditions (Piper *et al.*, 2017 in Dauda & Imoro, 2022). According to Awumbila and Teye (2016) the nature of migrants' livelihoods which are unregulated, hazardous, and involve low wages puts a strain on their survival and livelihoods.

In retrospect, inclusion in the form of accessing urban services for these early migrants is at best nonexistent, due to the already burgeoning population of the city itself and the emergence of urban villages. For instance, a study by Faturiyele *et al.* (2018) in South Africa reported that denied access to health services was found to threaten the livelihoods of migrants as access to urban services (shelter, security, accommodation) remains a significant challenge for this category of people. This exclusion is further exacerbated by their lack of family support and recognition.

Migration has been recognized as a livelihood strategy in itself (Duru, 2021; Amphune, Weldegebriel & Enaro, 2018) but largely overlooked are the livelihood options taken up by early migrants as a measure of inclusion in their bid to survive and integrate into the cities, especially within the context of accessing basic urban services. Where these services are already deemed inadequate due to the sheer number of urban inhabitants. It is also imperative

to appreciate the efforts and creativity of migrants coping mechanisms and strategies in their destination places.

Studies show that migrants are excluded by institutional barriers (Dauda & Imoro, 2022) and marginalized in the provision of urban services such as healthcare (Choudhari, 2020). In Nigeria, a study by Barau (2018) reported that migrants from the Boko haram insurgencies faced difficulties in their host communities in accessing educational services for their female children due to reasons of stigma and exclusion. Given that the movement of migrants transforms urban areas around the world demographically, culturally, economically, and politically (Price & Chacko, 2012) migration plays a key role in the process of urban development. Thus, makes the issue of migrant inclusion critical for many cities. Therefore, it is imperative to highlight the issues associated with the migrant livelihood options on arrival to large cities. In that regard, this paper seeks to explore early migrants' livelihood options as a measure of inclusion in large urban concentrations. The paper seeks to examine, (i) the drivers of migration to the study area. (ii) the kinds of livelihood options engaged in by early migrants. (iii) the extent to which livelihood options provide early migrants with a sense of inclusion in the study area in terms of access to basic urban services.

Literature review

Primacy in cities

According to Şakaci, Soumanou and Özkaya (2021), Reed (1972) the concept of primacy or metropolitan primacy is not novel. It was first introduced to urban studies about three decades ago by Mark Jefferson who holds the view that leading cities in many nations are not merely dominant in terms of population sizes alone but also dominate in the diversity of functions and have to a large extent some degree of effective nationwide influence. Mark (1939) in his work" The Law of Primate the City" introduced the concept of primate city or urban primacy, stressing that a primate city is always in most cases a national capital or a cultural center, a hub of nationalistic ferment, a multifunctional nucleus of a country's economy and of course the main attraction of internal migration.

Drivers of migration to Primate cities

Cities are major destinations for migrants as it is in these cities, they hope to find increased livelihood opportunities, safety, and access to basic and urban services (UN-Habitat, 2019). A review of the literature shows that most higher cities or primate cities hold a strong attraction for migrants seeking greener pastures, better life or living standards, employment, better amenities, accessibility and availability of urban services, and other opportunities in terms of the benefits the city has to offer. The desire for better employment opportunities, higher earnings, and improved living conditions naturally attracts migrants to urban centers (Alarima, 2018). As observed by scholars (Duru, 2021; Amphune, Weldegebriel & Enaro, 2018) migration itself is seen as a sort of coping mechanism utilized by the poor (particularly rural people) as a stimulant for changing their fates, especially in coping with the seasonality of income (Adams & Adger, 2013).

Several factors account for the attraction of migrants to the cities, categorizing them into push and pull factors. Castells -Quintana and Wenban-Smith (2019) indicated the push factors to be declining agricultural conditions, exacerbated by climate change, and natural disasters.

Others include the lack of better health opportunities in rural areas and the inability of urban infrastructure provision to keep up with the pace. Ajaero and Mozie (2010) echo that the overwhelming concentration of wealth, assets purchasing capacity, and economic activities along with job possibilities, financial prospects, safety, and security (Duru, 2021) and the variety of services in the urban centers are among the pull factors that cause rural-urban migration in Africa or pull migrants from the rural to the urban areas or from other smaller urban areas. However, according to Liman, Falola and Buba (2022), many factors could be responsible for migration so a single cause may not be pointed at. In addition, literature is indicative of the urban-urban type of migration (Lu, Lu, Chen &Tang, 2023) which is mostly driven by the need for higher incomes and better standards of living, etc.

With, African cities urbanizing at an unprecedented rate in a manner different from the established norms of urbanization (Lawanson, 2023). Urban growth in African cities displays the features of "African Urbanization" where urban growth is intense in cities that connect to rural and urban economies resulting in a strong migration wave, bringing some of the poorest into the cities (World Bank, 2017). This is evidenced in studies by Kaag, Baltissen, Steel and Lodder (2019) which show migration as a given and an indispensable component in many local livelihoods in the West African region. Migrants from remote parts of neighboring countries come to Nigeria (Benin, Togo, Chad, & Niger) due to the availability of jobs, good road network, and most importantly, the presence of a social network of family and friends at destinations that assists in securing the jobs (Liman *et al.,* 2023).

As opined by Sanderson *et al.* (2015) much of the influx of migrant population boosts economic activities in sectors found in cities and gives impetus to burgeoning informal sectors. This argument is based on the notion that migrants are among the main drivers of urbanization (Bhagat, 2020; UN-Habitat, 2019) and also act as main investors in their home countries as they send remittances back home for investment (Land, 2019; UN-Habitat, 2019). Scholars point out that migration has demonstrated benefits of reducing poverty in terms of these remittances sent back home. Despite this major role played by migrants in their original locations, large-scale movement of migrants can create tension in host communities where there is a perceived increase in competition for basic social and urban services or in cases where exclusion and inequality are high (UN-Habitat, 2017). The precarity of their situation in destination locations has been widely reported in literature.

For instance, studies by Dauda and Imoro (2022) examining the effect of COVID-19 on livelihoods, health, and living conditions of internal migrants in Accra identified how the pandemic further exacerbated the already precarious health conditions of migrants as they typically rely on self-treatment before seeking professional health services. In another clime, Duffy, Simelane and Collins (2018) in a study in South Africa established the need to find work as the primary driver of internal migration, which the authors related to income in terms of salary distribution. This view is supported by Castellas (2013); Van Haer, Bakewell and Long (2018). The drivers of migration as categorized by the authors include; (i) outward migration in a political economy of conflict, (ii) Inward migration due to a political economy of opportunity, and (iii)The influences of established networks and the history of migration.

Kano as a primate city displays the second and third drivers having and experiencing migration due to the economy of established opportunities and of established social networks along with a history of migration (Liman *et al.,* 2022; Barau, 2009; Mabogunje & Filani, 1977). Within this

context, it is discovered that individuals or whole families migrate to gain access to the informal labor markets of urban areas (Adams an Adger, 2013).

In terms of literature, this paper closely relates to others that have studied immigration push to large cities (Usman, 2019), drivers of migration (Duffy, Collins & Simelane, 2018; Van Hear, Bakewell & Long, 2018), lack of access to basic urban services (Castellas-Quintana, 2017), primacy and attraction of megacities (Castellas-Quintana, 2020), migrant livelihoods in cities of developing countries. Others include perspectives on livelihoods, health, and living conditions of internal migrants (Dauda & Imoro, 2022), migration as an adaptation strategy in West African drylands (Liman *et al.*, 2022). Although, these studies provide valuable insights to the subject of migration and migrants, none looked at how livelihood options serve as avenues for inclusion particularly in accessing basic urban services among early migrants. This paper contributes to the migration literature as it brings to the limelight how the livelihood options pursued by early migrants in Kano city and their access to urban services, serves as an indicator of inclusive urban development.

Migration, livelihood, and inclusion in access to basic urban services.

Migration has been defined as a process of personal movement from one area to another (temporary or permanent). It usually takes place at a variety of scale; intercontinental (between continents), intra-continental (between countries of a given continent), and interregional within countries (National Geographic Society, 2005). Other forms of migration have been classified as rural-urban, urban -urban.

Migration describes all kinds of population movements that include single or circular (involving mobility back and forth between the place of origin and destination), temporary or permanent, voluntary or induced movement caused by social, economic, and/or political factors including seasonal employment, diversifying livelihoods, political instability, ethnic clashes, natural disasters, social distress, marriage arrangements, or by the combination of one or more of these factors (Zeleke, Asfaw, Tolosa, Alemu & Trutmann, 2008).

Migrants to cities are likely to cluster in areas of low-cost and vacant land or in informal settlements, usually with low provision of services, densely packed, poor-quality housing, and conditions that further exacerbate exclusion. Having left their assets behind to start anew in their place of destination, oftentimes migrants are unable to use their skills, experience, or education acquired from home at their new destination due to denied work permits, labor policy, and other constraints (Jacobsen, 2014). In Kano for instance many migrants fleeing the insurgency try hard to integrate into the city's urban society but with varying degrees of success as the host communities are skeptical of their situation and thus refuse them access to rental housing (Barau, 2017).

In some respects, new migrants' cities face a number of challenges when they move to a new location that can reduce their adaptive capacity as they are more likely to experience discrimination and violence (UN-Habitat, 2019), and tend to have lower access to services, less political representation and insecure land tenure (Adams & Adger, 2013). Unless migrants can recover their livelihoods and be integrated into their host communities, they are at risk of further impoverishment (Jacobsen, 2014).

Livelihood Choices

Livelihood is described by Chambers (1995) in Sati, Deng-Wei and Xue-Qain (2019) as the capabilities, assets, and activities required for a means of living. The term livelihood from the perspectives of the authors is a mobile and flexible term that connotes some sort of earning means i.e. the contribution of the resources used and the activities undertaken to live (Scoones, 2001).

Pursuing livelihoods assists migrants to recover aspects or parts of their lives that have been left behind or disrupted due to migration (Jacobson, 2014) either forced or voluntary. The importance of livelihoods for migrants transcends beyond the simple meeting of basic needs as it is also a part of creating social networks determined by social structures and contributes to changing social structures (De Haan, 2002). Without which, migrants lack a sense of belonging and are excluded from access to basic services due to the lack of permits, appropriate credentials, and other forms of discrimination (Barau, 2017; Jacobson, 2014)

Livelihood options refer to the various forms of opportunities for earning income available to the migrants or the various opportunities for earning a living in the informal or formal sectors of a city. Optimal use of the opportunities plays a crucial role in the livelihood sustainability of migrants, in the sense that migrants can utilize their assets and capabilities readily at hand to make a living for themselves. According to Osei-Boateng and Ampratwum (2011), migrants' livelihoods in Accra are centered around informal activities that need very few skills, their livelihood options revolve around their ability to hustle for daily wages, the authors cite examples of such wage jobs to include head porterage (kayaye), fruit hawking and truck pushing.

In northern Nigeria, where the city of Kano is located migrants have been evidenced to lead a solitary life and engage in various new livelihoods. Migration patterns have been ascertained to be seasonal and circular and take the form of short-term movements which later could become permanent (Liman *et al.,* 2022).

Conceptual Framework

This study capitalizes on the claims of Lefebvre (1991) which holds that the city as an *ovure* is not only a physical space but also a social one that comes about as a result of the everyday social interactions of urban inhabitants, migrants alike who are both actors and producers of the urbanization process. It builds on the notion that the city is a place shaped by social relations and also a place which holds the promise to afford access to rights (Lefebvre, 1996). Within this context, Lefebvre argues that the promise the city holds includes prioritizing the city as a common project rather than an economic project and rights as part of an urban civilization (Fernández, 2011).

As indicated by Bhagat (2011), migration raises a central issue for the right to the city (RTC) i.e. the right for everyone, including migrants, to access the benefits that the city has to offer. According to Purcell (2003), the RTC is earned by living in the city regardless of a person's pace of origin or nationality. The practices of daily lives are central to the city, those who engage in daily living in the city, both living in and creating urban space possess a legitimate right to the city. This practice of daily life or living according to Purcell (2008) gives them a right to appropriation and participation.

The right to participation is viewed within the context of the fundamental right for all inhabitants to exercise full influence on all decisions made concerning the preproduction of the city space. It implies participation at different levels for urban inhabitants and is not just limited to decision-making processes within the structures of democracy. While right to appropriation refers to the right of inhabitants to complete use of the urban space and services in the course of their daily lives. It assumes the right to live, work, represent, characterize, and occupy the city. For Lefebvre, the city is a work of art (*an ovure*), which implies that the city and the urban space are conceived of as a creative product and the context for the everyday life of its inhabitants (Fernández, 2011). Harvey (2008) perceives the RTC as being far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources, but describing it as a right to change ourselves by changing the city. Thus, implying some sort of change in how urban inhabitants including migrants view and participate in the urbanization process. For Lefebvre (1967) cities were epicenters of social interaction and human creativity and everybody has the right to it and appropriate space (Boers, 2009). This perspective highlights the need for urban inhabitants and migrants alike to appropriate urban space and participate in its production. Therefore, to understand the level of inclusion of early migrants in the city of Kano, this study uses their ability and ease to access urban services as a measure of their sense of belonging in the host community, being that access to urban services improves the quality of life and also serves as the platform on which to indicate urban inclusion. This will provide useful insights on promoting urban inclusion and advancing the ideals of SDG11.

The Study Area:

Kano metropolis is the capital of Kano State and is located between latitudes 11°50′ and 12°07′ North of the Equator and longitudes 8°22′ and 8°47′ East of the Great Meridian (Mohammed, 2015). It comprises eight local government areas; Dala, Fagge, Gwale, and Kano Municipal. Nassarawa and Tarauni local governments form the nucleus of the Metropolitan, while urban expansion has gradually taken up Kumbotso and Ungogo LGAs (Koko *et al.*, 2023; Mohammed, Hassan & Badamasi, 2019). Being, the most populated state in Nigeria, Madugu (2016) asserts that it is a center of human population between the Niger and the Nile deltas and serves as an entry port to the Saharan desert (Madugu, 2016).

The rapid population growth and spatial expansion of Kano has been attributed to factors such as its historical, cultural, environmental, and socio-economic development. Along with in-migration and trans- Saharan trade which brings a constant influx of people to the city which also contributes to the city's high population (Koko *et al.*, 2023).

Presently, the Metropolis is reported to have a population of about 12 million people with a density of about 550 persons per square kilometer (Koko *et al.*, 2023; Bichi, Abdu, Umar, & Tukur, 2019). The city continues to grow spatially and in terms of population, along with its commercial and industrial activities (Mohammed *et al.*, 2019). Being a commercial hub, the city has to its credit a number of industries, and major markets that have regional influence e.g. Kantin Kwari, Dawanua, Yankaba, Kofar Ruwa, Kasuwar Rimi, and Yan-lemo.

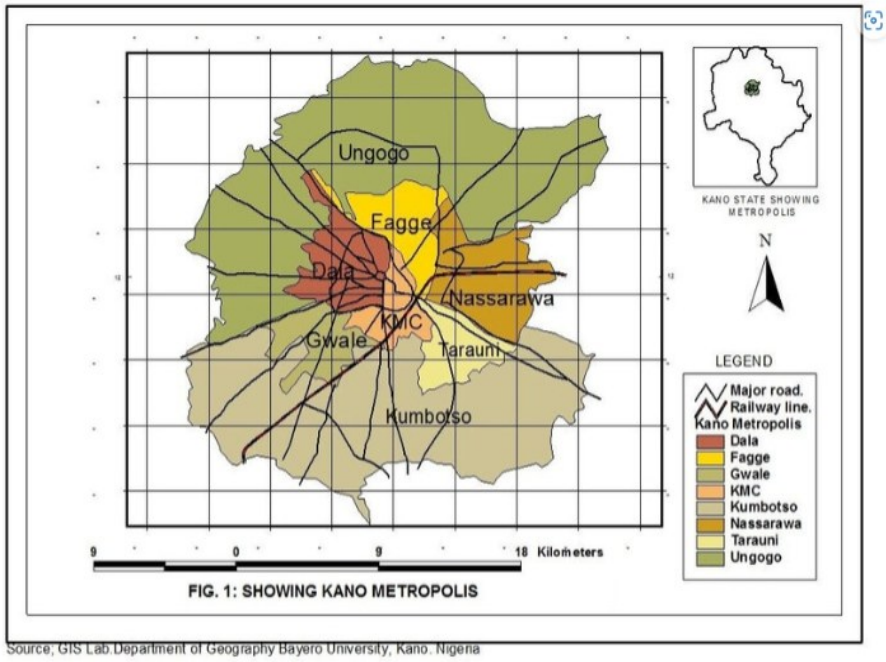

Figure 1: Map of Kano Metropolis.

Methodology

A concurrent mixed method research approach was employed to look into the dynamics of migrants' livelihood options and their inclusion or lack of it in access to urban services by taking Rijiyan Zaki, Unguwa Uku, and Tal'udu settlements in Kano as study areas.

With the help of two trained data collectors, questionnaires were administered to 150 male migrants who were sampled using a purposive sampling technique which was employed to select the locations of convergence of these early migrants in their workplaces. The early male migrants were easily accessible due to the nature of their jobs and the interplay of traditional gendered roles and social norms which result to less visibility of female respondents as compared to their male counterparts. In-depth interviews were conducted with the leaders of the identified livelihood groups where the early migrants converge. These participants were also purposively selected based on their perceived roles among the migrants. Additionally, interviews were conducted with a total of 10 female migrants who were randomly selected based on their willingness and consent to participate. Out of this number of female migrants, 6 were randomly seen begging along with their children around large departmental stores in the study area. While 4 were purposively located and interviewed at all female salons where they engage in plaiting, local henna design and body waxing. This small number of female migrants was due to their non-visibility in terms of the nature of their livelihood options, cultural and religious practices and the fact that most of them are married and hence need permission from their husbands.

Qualitative and quantitative data were generated from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was collected directly from the respondents while secondary data was sourced from existing scholarly works and organizational reports that are relevant to the study. The

validity of secondary data was ensured by cross-checking contents and similarity of other materials to ensure the accuracy and relevance of secondary sources.

Data Collection: Data from quantitative streams were collected through the use of a questionnaire schedule. This questionnaire had 3 sections with questions ranging from migrants' background/origin, the reason for migration from the location of origin; livelihood options, and strategies used in the city including information about job openings, startup capital, etc. Capital and accessibility to urban services; social networks, migrants' challenges in accessing services, and the outcome data was generated. For the qualitative data streams, an interview guide was drafted to facilitate the interview process. The guide consisted of questions that sought participants' views on early migrants' adaptation and sense of belonging in their host communities. Notes taken during interviews were transcribed. Hausa language was used during the interviews for ease of communication and expression. Data was computed and analyzed using SPSS and presented using descriptive techniques in the form of figures, tables, charts, and graphs where necessary. Descriptive narration was used to present information from interviews.

Results and Findings

The analysis presented in Table 1 indicates that early male migrants outnumber female migrants, particularly in terms of their visibility within the city. This could possibly be due to the nature of the livelihoods they engage in, cultural and religious practices. This finding aligns with the studies by Liman (2023) and Barau (2007), which also highlight the predominance of the male gender among migrants. Regarding age, the majority of respondents fall within the 25-34 age group, accounting for 42%, followed by the 35-44 age group at 24%. The smallest group is those aged 55 and above, comprising 21%.

In terms of education, the results reveal that a significant portion of respondents, 28%, have no formal education, while 26% have received some kind of vocational training. Interestingly, only 2% have attained post-secondary education. Marital status; 52% of the respondents are single as expected of the transient migrant population while 42.7% acknowledged that they are married but left their wives and families back home in their original location.

Respondents indicate having large household sizes with 42% having household sizes of 8 – 11 persons. Closely followed by those with 4-7 persons at 34.0%. While those with a household size of 0 – 3 persons accounted for 16.0% of the respondents. This result attests to the extended family practice of Africans which serves as a push factor to seek better opportunities in primate cities and the need to migrate in search of better livelihood options.

Table 1. Socio-demographic characteristics of Respondents.

		Frequency	Percent
1	Gender		
	Male	150	93.3
	Female	10	6.7
2	**Age**		
	18-24	30	20
	25-34	63	42
	35-44	36	24

	45-54	18	12
	55+	3	2
3	**Education**		
	Formal		
	Primary	24	16
	Secondary	36	24
	Vocational	39	26
	Higher degree /studies	3	2
	Diploma	3	2
	Degree	3	2
	Non-formal	42	28
4	**Marital status**		
	Single	78	52
	Married	64	42.7
	Divorced	6	4.0
	Widowed	2	1.3
5	**Household size**		
	0-3	24	16
	4-7	51	34
	8-11	63	42
	12+	12	8
6	**Length of stay**		
	0-2	30	20
	3-5	62	41.3
	6-8	46	30.7
	9-11	6	4.0
	12+	6	4.0
7	**Tribe/origin**		
	Buzu	25	16.7
	Damagaran	25	16.7
	Fulani	10	6.7
	Kanuri	10	6.7
	Tuareg	45	30
	Zarma	35	23.3

The duration of stay among migrants serves as an indicator of integration and acceptance within host communities. Analysis of the data reveals different variations in the length of stay among migrant respondents. From Table 1, 41.3% of the respondents have resided in their host communities within the city for 3-4 years. Nearly a third i.e. 30.7 % have stayed for 6-8 years while 20.0% have been residents for 0-2 years. A small number, 4.0% have lived in their host communities for close to 9- 11 years.

In response to the migrant's tribe and place of origin. At least, 30% of the respondents confirmed that they are Tuaregs from the neighboring Niger Republic. While 23.3% of them are Zarma a tribe from Niger Republic too. The lowest tribe being those from Kanuri and Fulani origins from the northern eastern states of Nigeria with 6.7% each (see Table 1).

Livelihood options:

In measuring livelihood options of early migrants, results in Table 2 indicate that informal water vending (mai- ruwa), i.e selling of water with 26.7% is the major livelihood engaged in by the respondents in the study area closely followed by shoe shining at 18% and collection of mutilated money/ naira notes. The local tea vending (mai-shayi) and collection of iron scrape (Iron condemn) with 12% each. With regards to ease of getting employed and business start-ups, 79.3% of the respondents claimed it was easy to secure employment in their host communities, while 14.7% did not find it as easy.

When interviewed about start-up capital, the female migrants responded that the livelihood options they engaged in….."*hair plaiting, local henna design and body waxing required little or no capital as they already acquired these skills before migrating and only needed to get the local ingredients to start. Back home we even do it for free".*

Similarly, when asked about starting a small business, 90.7% of the respondents agreed it was easy, whereas 9.3% found it challenging. Table 2 shows that 90.7% of respondents found it easy to start a business, while only 6 respondents (4%) did not. This ease is strongly linked to the initial capital required and the nature of the businesses that do not require particular skills. 55.3% of the respondents said they started their businesses with ₦0 – ₦5,000, followed by 22% who started with ₦6,000 – ₦10,000. The smallest group, 5.3%, started with ₦20,000 or more. The main challenges faced by respondents included that of attracting customers for the first few weeks with 40%. However, 44% of the respondents reported no challenges, likely due to the informal nature of their businesses, which do not require formal registration or tax payments. The least reported challenge was adapting to a new environment with 16%. To overcome these challenges, 56% emphasized the importance of honesty and integrity in their business dealings. This approach helped them retain and attract clients, establishing loyal customer relationships. Asked about the sufficiency of earnings, a significant majority 84% stated that their earnings were sufficient to meet their needs, while 6.1% of the respondents indicated that their earnings were insufficient.

Table 2. Livelihood option and ease of startup

		Frequency	Percentage
1	Occupation		
	Iron scrap collectors/iron condemn	18	12
	Mutilated money collectors	27	18
	Local pedicurist	20	13.3
	Local tea vendors (mai-shayi)	18	12
	Shoe shiners/cobblers	27	18
	Water vendors(mai-ruwa)	40	26.7
2	Ease of occupation/employment		
	No	22	14.7
	Yes	119	79.3

	Not really	9	6.0
3	Ease of starting a petty business		
	No	6	4.0
	Yes	136	90.7
	Not really	8	5.3
4	Initial start-up capital in naira (₦)		
	0-5,000	83	55.3
	6,000-10,000	33	22.0
	11,000- 15,000	17	11.3
	16,000-20,000	9	6.0
	20,000 above	8	5.3
5	Challenges		
	Getting personal customers	60	40.0
	New environment	24	16.0
	None at all	66	44.0
6	Overcoming challenges		
	Good service	30	20.0
	Honesty	84	56.0
	Over time	36	24.0
7	Sufficiency of wages/income in relation to needs	9	6.0
	No	15	10.0
	Not really	126	84.0
	Yes		
8	Sense of inclusion from livelihood/host community.	142	94.7
	Yes	8	5.3
	No		

Sense of Belonging; An overwhelming 94.7% of the respondents felt a sense of belonging in their host communities through their livelihood options. They take pride in their work, which they engage in with dedication and purpose. Although host community members may view these jobs as menial, the migrants value and hold them in high esteem. As one respondent noted, "*Who will do these jobs if not us*?". Referring to the local tea hawking and informal water vending livelihood options. This sense of pride and value for work is seen by the study to reflect the right of appropriation and participation by early migrants in their host communinities.

Corroborating this point, interviews with early female migrants revealed that the female migrants uphold their livelihoods in the sense that they view it as a job and a *halal* means of earning despite the informal nature. Although, highly frowned upon those engaged in street begging justified their action and considered that it was more out of necessity rather than choice. As they had little children to feed. This finding on female migrant beggars is consistent with the results of Liman (2023) and Barau (2009).

In relation to the choice of community, 42.7% of the respondents answered that the choice of their host communities was due to the presence of a relative or friend, while 36.0% attested

to the fact that they came alone seeking business opportunities and 21.3% of the migrant respondents said they choose their host communities for better avenues (See Figure 2). This result corresponds to that of Liman *et al.,* (2022) where family and friends are reported to serve as catalysts in attracting migrants to where they are domiciled.

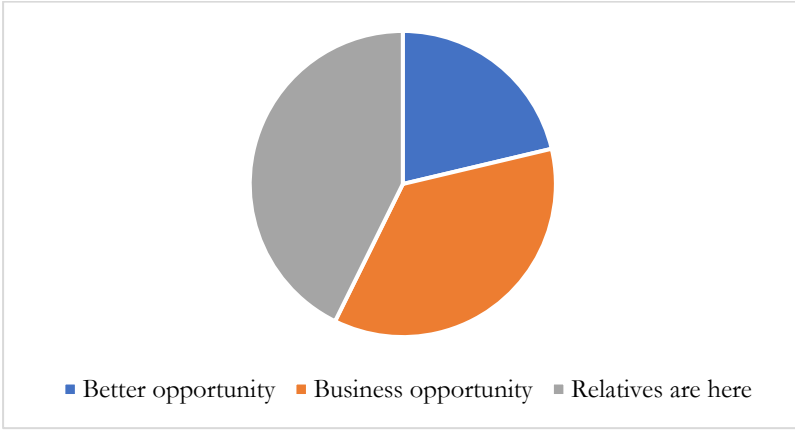

Figure 2. Respondents' choice of community.

Inclusion and Access to Basic Urban Services

Access to health services

In measuring inclusion based on access to health, education, and banking /financial services. Results in Table 3 indicate that in terms of patronage to health facilities, migrants and their family members primarily engage in self-medication using traditional herbs, with 50.7% of them affirming this practice instead of seeking Western health services. This is followed by 27.3% of them who buy over-the-counter medicines from chemists, claiming that chemist attendants can effectively treat them. While, 7.3% attested to the use of private clinics or do not seek medical help at all. As to whether they faced any form of discrimination in accessing health services at the chemist and pharmacies, 97.3% of the respondents indicated that they do not face any form of discrimination. However, 2.7% of the respondents admitted to facing some form of discrimination from health attendants. The perceived inclusion in accessing health services is strongly related to their health-seeking behaviors, considering respondents' heavy reliance on chemists and pharmacies instead of formal hospitals. Added to these factors are those of similarities in religion and language of the migrants and the host communities which eases acceptance and flow of communication among both parties. This finding reflects the level of inclusion of migrants in the study area communities. As stated by Thillairajan *et al.* (2013), the more accessible a service is to people, the more inclusive it is. The frequency of hospital visits by respondents was considered due to the importance of healthcare in determining well-being and physical development. Public health centers serve diverse populations in this regard, 57.3% of the respondents reported to not visiting health facilities or hospitals, aligning with their preference for self-medication, use of herbs, or traditional medicines. Meanwhile, 34.7% claimed they do not visit health centers often, and only 8% agreed to frequently visiting health facilities for treatment.

Additionally, 70% of the respondents indicated that they do not get immunization since their families are not in the study area, as early migration is often a solitary activity aimed at seeking better employment opportunities. However, 18.7% confirmed that their families participate in immunization programs, while 11.3% said they do not. Immunization is crucial due to the control of disease outbreaks such as polio, cholera, measles, and COVID-19. This is because cities are a contagion for the spread of diseases. Respondents who do get immunized, receive services from community health workers conducting house-to-house immunization exercises which are limited to certain ages.

Access to shelter and housing services.

A significant majority of respondents 97.3%, confirmed that they pay for rented accommodation. The annual rent ranges from ₦31,000 to ₦45,000 for 65 respondents (43.3%), with a small percentage (0.7%) paying either ₦0 – ₦15,000 or ₦90,000. Those who do not pay rent typically live with relatives or friends, with 94.7% of them sharing accommodation spaces with friends and 5.3% sharing with other families. Finding accommodation in an urban area can be challenging for new migrants. According to the analysis, 59.3% found it very easy to secure accommodation, while 40.7% faced some difficulties.

Table 3. Access to health, education, and banking services.

S/n	Service		Frequency	Percentage
1	Health	Which health facilities do you patronize?	41	27.3%
		Chemist	11	7.3%
		Private hospital	11	7.3%
		Public	76	50.7%
		Herbs	11	7.3%
		None		
		How often do you visit the health facility?	12	8.0%
		Often	86	57.3%
		I don't go	52	34.7%
		Not often		
		No discrimination		
		Yes	146	97.3%
		Not really	4	2.7%
		Immunization		
		No	17	11.3%
		Not here	105	70.0%
		Yes	28	18.7%
2	Housing/shelter	Do you live in a rented or personal house?	146	97.3%
		Yes	4	2.7%
		No		
		How much do you pay for rent? (in ₦)	1	0.7%

		0-15,000	33	22.0%
		16,000-30,000	65	43.3%
		31,000-45,000	25	16.7%
		46,000-60,000	10	6.7%
		61,000-75,000	15	10.0%
		76,000-90,000	1	0.7%
		90,000 above		
		Ease of getting accommodation		
		Easy	61	40.7%
		Very easy	89	59.3%
		Shared shelter		
		Friends	142	94.7%
		Other families	8	5.3%
3	Education	Islamiyya/Madrasa	28	18.7%
		None	80	53.3%
		Not here	14	9.3%
		Private	7	4.7%
		Public	21	14%
4	Banking/ financial services	Where do you save money?		
		In a bank	28	18.7%
		With a friend	53	35.3%
		With myself/I carry it around.	69	46.0%
		Do you have an account?		
		No	37	24.7%
		Yes	113	75.5%
		Ease of opening an account		
		I don't have an account	32	21.3%
		Yes, it was easy	118	78.7%
		Use of any identification or NIN for account opening.		
		I don't have an account	32	21.3%
		No	98	65.3%
		Yes	20	13.3%
		How do you send money back home?	150	100%
		Money agent	0	0
		Transfers		

With regards to accessing educational services, 53.3% of the respondents reported that their children do not attend formal schools. However, 18.7% stated that their children attend Islamiyya/Madrasa schools, and 14% indicated that their children attend public schools within their communities. The lack of enrollment in formal schools is often due to language differences (English/French) and the preference to enroll children back home.

In terms of banking services, 46% prefer to save their money personally and carry it with them in case of unexpected circumstances. Another 35.3% save their money with a friend, while 18.7% use formal banks. Regarding owning bank accounts, 75.3% have accounts with online digital financial services, while 24.7% do not. The ease of opening accounts with online digital financial services such as Monie Point, Opay, and Palmpay has contributed to the high number of online digital account holders. Most respondents, i.e. 78.7% found it easy to open an online digital mobile account, though these accounts are primarily used for payment/cash transactions from clients rather than for savings. As majority of them (65.3%) claimed they did not need to meet the strict requirements to open a bank account with any of the traditional banks. This reflects the trend of preference for online mobile money services and the country's cashless policy. However, 13.3% had to show some form of identification when opening account at the traditional banks, while 21.3% did not have any bank account. Surprisingly, all of the respondents (100%) confirmed that they remit monies back to their home destinations through informal money agents such as couriers at bus parks or send through friends rather than using traditional banking institutions. These informal medium of remittance by the early migrants are considered more trustworthy, reliable and familiar. This finding corresponds with the submissions of David and Imoro (2022) on the exclusion of migrants by institutional barriers. The preference for digital financial services and the use of informal money agents suggests early migrant's expression of agency in appropriating the use of urban space to suit their peculiarities.

Hypothesis 1: There is significant relationship between the livelihood option migrant engage in and their sense of belonging in the study area.

Table 4: Chi-Square Tests

		Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
1.	Pearson Chi-Square	31.121[a]	10	.001
2.	Likelihood Ratio	39.282	10	.001
3.	Linear-by-Linear Association	5.373	1	.020
	N of Valid Cases	150		

a. 11 cells (61.1%) have expected count less than 5

Table 5: Symmetric Measures

		Value	Approximate Significance
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	.455	.001
	Cramer's V	.322	.001
N of Valid Cases		150	

The results of the chi-square test in Table 4 indicate a statistically significant relationship between the livelihood options that early migrants engage in and their sense of belonging to the community. The Pearson Chi-Square value of 31.121, with a p-value of 0.001, suggests that the likelihood of this relationship occurring by chance is very low (less than 0.05). Therefore, the study rejects the null hypothesis, which stated that there is no significant relationship between the type of occupation early migrants pursue and their feeling of belonging or inclusion in the community. The strength of this association is further supported

by Cramer's V value of 0.322, indicating a moderate relationship between these variables (Table 5). Additionally, the Phi value of 0.455 corroborates the moderate strength of this association. This means that the type of occupation migrants engage in is moderately associated with their perception of being a part of the community.

Limitation

A limitation of this study is the relatively small sample size of early female migrants compared to their male counterparts, which may have possible implications on the generalizability of the findings to the larger population of female migrants in Kano city. Future research could benefit from a more specific focus on female migrants to further explore their perspectives and provide more insights to their experiences.

Conclusion

Though, the study was only able to interview a few early female migrants due to their non-visibility in the study area as compared to their male counterparts. Outcomes of the study indicate that early migrants move to primate cities like Kano in search of better opportunities and take up livelihood options perceived as lower-level jobs by the host communities. These livelihood options were discovered to have no entry requirements and, in some instances, very minimal start-up capital for business setups. However, these livelihood options are held in high esteem and are revered by the early migrants as they serve as a means of survival for them and also give them a sense of value and inclusion in their host communities.

The results also indicate that migrants in Kano derive a sense of inclusion from their livelihood choices. This can be attributed to the fact that migratory histories have always been a part of the city's urbanization process. The urban fabric of Kano City is largely laced with migrant culture, traditions, and taste. Length of stay was discovered to be a key factor for integration and accessing health, educational, and formal banking services. The study concludes that there is a dire need to document the entries, exits, and livelihood options of early migrants in the city by the necessary authorities. As it will enable urban actors to keep tabs on the migrant population and make adequate provisions for urban services.

References

Adams, H., & Adger, W. N. (2013). The contribution of ecosystem services to place utility as a determinant of migration decision-making. *Environmental Research Letters*, *8*(1), 015006.

Alarima, C. I. (2018). Factors influencing rural-urban migration of youths in Osun State, Nigeria. *Agro-Science*, *17*(3), 34-39.

Ajaero, C. K., & Mozie, A. T. (2010). The Agulu-Nanka Gully Erosion Menace In Nigeria: What Does the Future Hold for the Population at Risk?. *Climate Change and Migration: Rethinking Policies for Adaptation and Disaster Risk Reduction*, *74*.

Awumbila, M., Owusu, G., & Teye, J. K. (2014). Can rural-urban migration into slums reduce poverty? Evidence from Ghana. *Migrating Out of Poverty Working Paper*, *13*, 1-41.

Bhagat, R. B., Reshmi, R. S., Sahoo, H., Roy, A. K., & Govil, D. (2020). The COVID-19, migration and livelihood in India: challenges and policy issues. *Migration Letters*, *17*(5), 705-718.

Barau, A. S. (2009). Measuring plights of migrant Tuareg groups in Kano city, Nigeria. In *A Paper presented at the XXVI Congress of International Union for Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP), Plaise de Congres, Marrakech, Morocco*.

Barau, A. (2017). *Women and children fleeing Boko Haram: Their experiences in Nigerian cities. Nigeria: IIED*.

Bichi, A. M., Abdu, A., Umar, Y. A., & Tukur, B. (2019). Assessment of public housing affordability in Kano Metropolis, Nigeria. *Social and Economic Geography*, *4*(1), 1-7.

Castells-Quintana, D. (2017). Malthus living in a slum: Urban concentration, infrastructure and economic growth. *Journal of Urban Economics*, *98*, 158-173.

Castells-Quintana, D., & Wenban-Smith, H. (2020). Population dynamics, urbanisation without growth, and the rise of megacities. *The Journal of Development Studies*, *56*(9), 1663-1682.

Chambers, R. (1995). Poverty and livelihoods: whose reality counts?. *Environment and urbanization*, *7*(1), 173-204.

Choudhari, R. (2020). COVID 19 pandemic: Mental health challenges of internal migrant workers of India. *Asian journal of psychiatry*, *54*, 102254.

Dauda, S., & Jaha Imoro, R. (2022). Ghana and COVID-19: Perspectives on livelihoods, health and living conditions of internal migrants in Accra. *Cogent Social Sciences*, *8*(1), 2072060.

Duffy, K. J., Simelane, T. S., & Collins, O. C. (2018). Income as a primary driver of South African inner city migration. *Theoretical and Empirical Researches in Urban Management*, *13*(3), 25-36.

Duru, I. U. (2021). Examination of the causes and consequences of international migration in Nigeria. *Asian Development Policy Review*, *9*(4), 180-193.

Faturiyele, I., Karletsos, D., Ntene-Sealiete, K., Musekiwa, A., Khabo, M., Mariti, M., ... & EQUIP Innovation for Health Team. (2018). Access to HIV care and treatment for migrants between Lesotho and South Africa: a mixed methods study. *BMC public health*, *18*, 1-10.

Fernández, I. G. (2011). The Right to the City as a conceptual framework to study the impact of North-South Migration. *Recreation and Society in Africa, Asia and Latin America*, *2*(1).

Jacobs, J. (1961). Jane jacobs. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, *21*(1), 13-25.

Jeanne, C. (2016). Comparing the right to the city concepts of Henri Lefebvre and David Harvey. *University of Oxford, March*, *8*.

Kaag, M., Baltissen, G., Steel, G., & Lodder, A. (2019). Migration, youth, and land in West Africa: making the connections work for inclusive development. *Land*, *8*(4), 60.

Koko, A. F., Bello, M., & Sadiq, M. A. (2023). Understanding the Challenges of 21st Century Urbanization in Northern Nigeria's Largest City, Kano. In *Integrative Approaches in Urban Sustainability-Architectural Design, Technological Innovations and Social Dynamics in Global Contexts*. IntechOpen.

Lawanson, T. O. (2023). Alternative Urbanisms: Beyond Utopian Visions of the'Emerging'African City.

Liman, M., Falola, J. A., & Buba, L. F. (2022). Who Goes Where and How: Migration as An Adaptation Strategy in the West African Drylands. *Migration and Diversity*, *2*(1), 89-107.

Liman, M. (2023). Not Only a Man's World: Women Also Cross Borders. *Border Crossing*, *13*(1), 31-34.

Lu, N., Lu, W., Chen, R., & Tang, W. (2023). The Causal effects of Urban-to-Urban Migration on left-behind children's well-being in China. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, *20*(5), 4303.

Mabogunje, A. L., & Filani, M. O. (1977). *Absorption of migrants into Kano city, Nigeria* (No. 991769333402676). International Labour Organization.

Madugu, Y.U. (2016). Transportation and precolonial Kano economy. Arewa House J. 4(4):132–153.

Mark, J. (1939). The law of the primate city. *Geographical Review*, *29*(2), 226-232.

Mbanaso, M. U., & Ozden, K. E. M. A. L. (2017). Urbanization, migration and sustainable development: A case analysis of Nigeria. *Nigerian Studies Review*, *2*, 23-46.

Mohammed, M. U. (2015). Location Analysis of Filling Stations in Kano Metropolis, Nigeria. An unpublished M.sc thesis submitted to the Department of Geography. Bayero University Kano.

Mohammed, M. U., Hassan, N. I., & Badamasi, M. M. (2019). In search of missing links: urbanisation and climate change in Kano Metropolis, Nigeria. *International Journal of Urban Sustainable Development*, *11*(3), 309-318.

National Geographic Society. Human Migration Guide, 2005.

Osei-Boateng, C., & Ampratwum, E. (2011). The informal sector in Ghana. Friedrich- Ebert-Stiftung. Accessed 7 Feb, 2024. http://www.fesghana.org/index.php? page=informal-economy.

Price, M., & Chacko, E. (2012). Migrants' inclusion in cities: Innovative urban policies and practices. In *Conference: UN-Habitat Conference*.

Purcell, M. (2002). Excavating Lefebvre: The right to the city and its urban politics of the inhabitant. *GeoJournal*, *58*, 99-108.

Purcell, M. (2003). Citizenship and the right to the global city: reimagining the capitalist world order. *International journal of urban and regional research*, *27*(3), 564-590.

Reed, R. R. (1972). The primate city in Southeast Asia: Conceptual definitions and colonial origins. *Asian Studies*, *10*(3), 283-320.

Rosenberg, M. (2019), "*The Law of the Primate City, Primate Cities and the Rank-Size Rule*", https://www.thoughtco.com/law-of-primate-cities-1435793 (Erişim Tarihi: 02.08.2021).

Şakacı, B. K., Soumanou, A., & Özkaya, S. (2021). Benin on the Axis of the Law of the Primate City: The Case of Cotonou. *Uluslararası Yönetim Akademisi Dergisi*, *4*(3), 493-508.

Sanderson, M. R., Derudder, B., Timberlake, M., & Witlox, F. (2015). Are world cities also world immigrant cities? An international, cross-city analysis of global centrality and immigration. *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, *56*(3-4), 173-197.

Scoones, I. (2013). Livelihoods perspectives and rural development. In *Critical perspectives in rural development studies* (pp. 159-184). Routledge.

Thillairajan, A., Mahalingam, A., & Deep, A. (2013). Impact of private-sector involvement on access and quality of service in electricity, telecom, and water supply sectors: a systematic review of the evidence in developing countries. *London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London.*

Timberlake, M. (2019), Primate Cities, University of Utah Publisher, Utah (US).

UN-Habitat, (2019) Flagship Programme Inclusive Cities; Enhancing the Positive Impact of Urban Migration. P.O. Box 30030, Nairobi 00100, Kenya.

Van Hear, N., Bakewell, O., & Long, K. (2020). Push-pull plus: reconsidering the drivers of migration. In *Aspiration, desire and the drivers of migration* (pp. 19-36). Routledge.

Yahuza, M. S., Asilsoy, B., Gücel, S., & Özden, Ö. (2021). The impact of rural-urban migration and its effects on urbanisation in Kano State, Nigeria. *International Journal of Global Environmental Issues*, *20*(2-4), 222-240.

Yakudima, I. I., Alhaji, M., Nabegu, A. B., Dakata, F. A. G., Umar, Y. A., & Musa, B. U. (2014) Overview of the Physical and Human Setting of Kano Region, Nigeria.

Zeleke, G., Asfaw, W., Tolosa, D., Alemu, B., & Trutmann, P. (2008). Seasonal migration and rural livelihoods in Ethiopia: An empirical study. *Global Mountain Program (GMP) Working Paper*, *3*.